

HAWAIIAN RECIPROCITY.

The Petition of San Francisco Merchants to the Senate.

FULL TEXT OF THE ADDRESS

An Elaborate Review of the Treaty, Showing That Its Abrogation Would Seriously Jeopardize Our Commerce.

Following is the full text of the address telegraphed to United States Senator Miller at Washington by San Francisco merchants, on the subject of the Reciprocity Treaty with Hawaii:

To the Honorable John F. Miller, Chairman Senate Committee Foreign Affairs, Washington, D. C.—SIR: The treaty of reciprocity between the United States and the kingdom of Hawaii was concluded in Washington on the 30th of January, 1875, and was ratified by His Hawaiian Majesty on the 17th of April, 1875, and by Congress on the 21st of May, 1875, and practically took effect on September 1st of the same year.

By Article 5 it was mutually agreed that this treaty should remain in force for seven years, "from the date in which it may come into operation, and further, until the expiration of twelve months after either of the contracting parties shall give notice to the other of its wish to terminate the same, each of the high contracting parties being at liberty to give such notice to the other at the end of said term of seven years, or at any time thereafter."

The object of the treaty as stated in the first clause of that instrument was, "the desire to strengthen and perpetuate the friendly relations which have heretofore uniformly existed between the contracting parties, and to consolidate their commercial intercourse."

During the nine years the treaty has been in force it has been remarkably successful in obtaining for both countries the two desired objects. The friendly relations anterior to the treaty have been cemented until, except for the difference in forms of government, the people of the islands have become one in sentiment and in interest with the people of the United States, and their commercial intercourse has grown until next to Great Britain the islands are the largest foreign customers of merchants, manufacturers and producers of this coast here, and their purchases are so varied that every industry shares in the benefits of their trade. This is exemplified by the fact that in the last complete year prior to the treaty of 1874, our exports did not exceed \$450,000, and in 1883, the latest year for which we have complete returns, they exceeded \$3,000,000. This growth, marvelous alike for its proportions, and in the short period in which it was accomplished, is entirely due to the operations of this treaty.

The undersigned, members of and representing the greater body of merchants, manufacturers and producers of San Francisco and the Pacific Coast, have the honor to address you on this subject because we realize the importance of continuing this treaty, and wish to correct some statements which have been made from time to time by parties who were either misinformed or were actuated by trade jealousies, or from malicious motives were hostile to this treaty.

It has been said that the treaty was of no benefit to the United States, and little or none to the people of this coast.

That all the benefits accrued to certain sugar refineries.

That the sole beneficiaries of the treaty are a few sugar planters, alien in blood and sentiment to this country.

That the United States Government sacrifices upwards of \$3,000,000 yearly in sugar duties without any adequate return.

Passing for the moment the first objection and taking up the second and third together, it will be seen that they directly contradict each other.

The business of sugar refining on this coast is little affected by the treaty, but what effect it has is injurious, because by the admission free of the higher grades of raw sugars, such as are known as "grocery grades," they enter into competition with the lower class of refined sugars, keeping down prices and putting it into the power of any island planter to compete with our refineries in their cheaper products. The sugar planters on the islands are not alien in sentiment, but on the contrary, are warm friends of American institutions. They can not be called aliens in blood, for three fourths of the planters, merchants and professional men are either of American stock, native Americans, or have been naturalized in this country before they took up their abode in the islands.

The present direct benefits of the treaty go to the planter, who receives for his sugar when it is landed in this city just as much as if it came from the Philippine Islands and had paid duty, the present direct benefits to go to him, but this commerce being conducted by American merchants with American capital in American bottoms, and the greater portion of his supplies of provisions, clothing, furniture, building material, animals, forage, machinery, coasting vessels, railroad material, etc., being drawn from the United States, only a moiety of the benefits remain in his hands.

Returning to the first statement, that the treaty is of no benefit to the United States and little or none to the people of this coast, we would call your attention to the following extract in reference to this treaty from the annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury:

"The industry and free market opened have given rise to a trade in its nature and effects like our inter-State trade, covering a wide range of articles, affecting profitably the American farmer, grocer, and manufacturer of small articles of household and farm use, as well as the larger manufacturers in metals and of machinery and cotton."

The exports of these commodities have so grown that the trade of San Francisco with the Hawaiian Islands is third in importance, being equalled only by that with Great Britain and China, and exceeding that of Mexico, Australia, or British Columbia.

"The impetus given to Hawaiian inter-island commerce has also inured to the benefit of Americans, in calling for coasting steamers and sailing vessels which have been built in American ports."

We would also present the following exhibit of the trade of the United States with the following countries for the year 1883, showing the value of the aggregate trade, compiled by the National Bureau of Statistics, Mr. Joseph Nimmo, Jr., compiler:

Sweden and Norway	4,855,719
Turkish Empire	3,538,670
Chili	3,296,080
Peru	3,020,812
Dutch West Indies, etc.	2,396,062
Greece (Kingdom)	1,322,597
In the above list of twenty important countries doing business with the United States, only one comes up to the aggregate value of our Hawaiian trade, the United States of Colombia, and that is largely due to the stimulus given to business on the Isthmus by the building of the Panama Canal.	
We have not included in this list Mexico, our neighbor, whose aggregate trade in 1883 was \$24,704,743, but that was exceptional and owing to the large exportation of railroad material and supplies; and, estimating the population of Mexico at 12,000,000, the trade was but \$2 per head, while each one of Hawaii's 70,000 people purchased of and sold to us \$172 per head in this year. We did \$18,475,324 with Japan, but we look to Japan for much of our tea and some of our raw silk, and Japan has 35,000,000 of people.	
With Hongkong and China we did \$29,918,800, or only about two and one half times the business we did with little Hawaii, and besides drawing silk and tea from China, there are more Chinese in this country, drawing much of their supplies of food and clothing from their native land than the entire population of the Hawaiian Kingdom.	

On what other grounds can this trade, unparalleled in amount, population being considered, in the annals of the business of this country or of that of any European nation and its most prosperous colonies, be explained, excepting by the beneficial operations of the treaty.

We have said that the commercial intercourse between California and Hawaii is closer than that with any other foreign country, Great Britain excepted. In proof, we submit the following list of countries and the value of their exports to us during the first six months of 1884, compiled from the records of the San Francisco Custom House:

United Kingdom	\$7,866,934
Hawaiian Islands	1,400,509
New York	1,392,583
Hongkong and China	1,073,118
British Columbia	981,855
Mexico	881,562
Belgium	842,202
Australasia	645,018
France	398,500
Tahiti	202,636

Can it be said that an aggregate trade of \$12,000,000 with a foreign people, of which \$4,000,000 is our export, and mainly of manufactured products of our soil, is of no benefit to the United States?

Can it be said that a trade of over \$11,000,000 between this port and a foreign people, of which \$3,000,000 are exports, not including the lumber and forage which go from Oregon and Washington Territory, nor the six or seven assorted cargoes which are sent annually from Boston and New York, is of no benefit to California and to the United States?

Can it be said that there are no benefits to this country when Americans alone have over \$15,000,000 interested in Hawaii, of which over \$9,000,000 is in steam and sailing vessels, in docks, wharves and warehouses? Is the prosperity of Hawaii a matter of indifference to Americans, when California alone has over \$3,000,000 of loans out in the shape of advances on crops?

Can it be said that there are no corresponding benefits in the freights earned by American vessels in bringing \$8,000,000 of sugar, and the commissions of the consignees in San Francisco, with the other incidental expenses, reach to 16 per cent of the gross amount, or \$1,280,000 a year?

Can it be said that this trade is of little worth when American vessels and American commission agents are making twenty per cent, or \$600,000 over and above the \$3,000,000 which is the invoice price of the goods we export when they leave the hands of the manufacturer or producer?

Can it be said that a trade is of little worth that employs twenty American sailing vessels, mostly built for the purpose of this commerce? That the trade exists in Philadelphia shipyards the two finest and fastest vessels ever built in the United States, or the equals in speed and equipment of any British-built Atlantic steamer?

Is a trade of no benefit which has led to the building in our ship-yards of a whole flotilla of sailing vessels and half a dozen steamers for the inter-island trade, besides a steamship for the same purpose built in Philadelphia?

Is the commerce worth nothing in which we have almost exclusive control, a control which has no parallel in this country, a commercial intercourse which delivers into our vessels the entire crop of the islands, and after deducting freights, commissions, insurance on cargo and plantation, our profits and interest on capital and discounts on accepting of their purchases in Atlantic and European cities, we pay the entire balance, except about \$100,000 a year in merchandise, on which a profit has been made by every hand through which it has passed, and that \$100,000 coin which they draw from us is all returned, and even more, by Hawaiians who travel throughout the United States for pleasure and the education of their youth?

Relatively to population, there is no foreign country with which the United States carries on so large a commerce, for the Islanders consume \$47 per capita of our products, while Great Britain and Ireland only consume \$11.23.

There is hardly a trans-oceanic country with which one half of our commerce is carried on in American bottoms, but of our trade with Hawaii 95 per cent is carried on in American bottoms, and the only exceptions are run and manned by Americans.

In answering the first objection, that the United States or California receive little or no benefit from the treaty, we have in part answered the fourth, that the United States are making a useless sacrifice of upwards of \$3,000,000 a year of sugar duties.

If the sacrifice was so great, the benefits the people of California, and through them the whole United States, receive from this remarkable trade, were much less than we have shown them to be, the sacrifice would not be useless, for the geographical position of the island is such that the United States cannot let the influence of any of the great European Powers become paramount in the islands without surrendering all hope of maintaining the supremacy in the Pacific which is her due, and endangering the peace of her own coast, but these strategic arguments we will leave to the Naval and Diplomatic Departments of the Government to advise upon.

Had there not been a treaty, there would not have been \$3,000,000, or even \$1,000,000, of duties collected on Hawaiian sugars, for the reason that the sugar industry would not have been developed. Without the treaty a few favored plantations getting out of their surplus labor what help they needed at starvation wages might have survived, even with small returns they would have received from San Francisco for their sugars after paying duty as well as freight and commissions. Their condition would have been much the same as that of Cuba planters. They could not have purchased of us because they would not have had cash, and we should not have given them credit; they could not have borrowed of our capitalists for the security would have been destroyed on which previous loans were made. But for the treaty the islands would be a half desolate country, occupied by a bankrupt people, instead of being a fertile sugar farm, tilled by good friends to our country—mainly American citizens.

Another reason why no such sum as even \$3,000,000 could ever have been collected in duties, had there been no treaty, is because had there been duty to pay instead of the average of sugars received from the islands being above No. 10, Dutch Standard, in color, the average would be as the average of raws received by the United States for refining purposes, and have been below No. 10, Dutch Standard, and, therefore, have come in at the lower duty.

The opponents of the treaty have repeatedly urged that the intention of the treaty was to reduce the price of sugar on this coast. The treaty itself says it was to strengthen and perpetuate friendly relations and to consolidate commercial intercourse. If the intention was to cheapen sugar in San Francisco, the negotiating plenipotentiaries omitted to mention it. But they could hardly have had that object in mind, knowing that besides all we then received or now receive from the islands we had to import, and do still import sugars from Manila, China and Central America, yet they made no provision for enforcing the sale of island sugar at less than its market value when placed alongside other sugar which had paid duty. If the islands could, which they never can, produce as much sugar as we can consume on this coast, or a little more, raw sugars might fall in price below the level of New York, but until then we must expect to pay for our "sweets" about as much as it would cost to lay them down from other cane sugar producing countries.

A good deal has been said about sugar refining in connection with the treaty. The two interests are entirely separate, and the continuance or abrogation of the treaty would not affect the price of refined in this city, or the competition between East and West for the patronage of the valley of the Mississippi. That is a struggle between rival manufacturers with equal machinery, capital and other facilities, in which the merchants of this city have little interest beyond a desire to see this and other manufactures of their city prosper by enlarging their field of operations. Our great interest is in the success of our customers, the island planters and people.

In presenting these facts and arguments we have striven to avoid exaggeration and burdening you with trifling details, showing advantages, each unimportant in itself, but like the Scotchman's "crookle," making a "buckle."

We have not been provoked to recrimination, nor in our California partisanship forgotten that we are a few in a great nation—we ask nothing for ourselves that we would not cheerfully ask others to get. Hawaiian commerce falls naturally to us by location. If any other city could point to a people who will give returns in commerce for similar favors equal to what the Hawaiians give American merchants, producers and mechanics, we would aid them by such little influence as we have in the councils of the nation, and we ask of the merchants of other and larger cities not to help our enemies in destroying a treaty so beneficial to the countries, and to the people who will give returns in commerce for similar favors equal to what the Hawaiians give American merchants, producers and mechanics, we would aid them by such little influence as we have in the councils of the nation, and we ask of the merchants of other and larger cities not to help our enemies in destroying a treaty so beneficial to the countries, and to the people who will give returns in commerce for similar favors equal to what the Hawaiians give American merchants, producers and mechanics, we would aid them by such little influence as we have in the councils of the nation, and we 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